1: Gifford

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[For information on kava preparation and drinking, see Category 276.]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The house servants of the Tui Tonga were the *vaoeiki* and the *tamaioeiki*. The *vaociki* was a woman of the matapule class, appointed by the Tui Tonga to care for his household. She had her house within the Tui Tonga's enclosure. She was the custodian of food and supplies, and general household manager, having charge of the other servants. It was her duty also to personally look after the welfare and comfort of the Tui Tonga, ministering to him when he was ill. The *tamaioeiki* were the men servants of the Tui Tonga who actually did the work in the house in which the Tui Tonga lived. The public was excluded from the house. A person coming to see the Tui Tonga sat outside and told his message to a matapule, who in turn took it to the Tui Tonga.

The salutation to the Tui Tonga was, "Malo e lakoifie ae afiona" (Being well or in good health, his majesty). *"Hoo afio"* (your majesty) is employed to-day of the Deity. The Tui Tonga might be addressed either in the second person, *hoo*, or the third person, *ae*. "The heavens are void" was the metaphorical announcement of the Tui Tonga's death.

A kind of garland, *lala heilala*, was worn only by the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha. The *heilala* or wax flower, "formerly found growing only upon the lands of the Tui Tonga," were strung like beads on a strand of fau bark, no other blossoms being used, and the strings of blossoms were formed into a rather broad, heavy band.

The Tui Tonga's hair and beard were trimmed by singeing. The envelope (*loutoume*) of the immature coconut was burnt and a living coal therefrom applied to the hair.

When the Tui Tonga drank the milk of a green coconut, at the same time digging out the meat and eating it as he drank, he exclusively employed for that purpose a fresh cut stick from the *toi* tree, the green twigs of which have a sweet mint-like fragrance.

Jioeli Pangia, the man who perhaps would be Tui Tonga today if the office had not been absorbed by the Tui Kanokupolu, gave the following information as to the constitution of the Tui Tonga's immediate following and relatives. The classification is purely one based upon rank and the rank in turn based upon relationship. All of the people mentioned were relatives of the Tui Tonga, though some very distantly related.

1. **Fahu. Highest in rank. The elder daughter of the elder sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tamaha. Her brothers and sisters were also fahu to the Tui Tonga.**
2. **Kaingaofi. The Tui Tonga's immediate family including himself. Of these the elder sister of the Tui Tonga held highest rank. (By immediate family is meant full brothers and sisters.)**
3. **Matapule. Advisers and officers executing the Tui Tonga's business.**
4. **Kainangafonua. Official and household servants of both sexes. These were commoners.**
5. **Tamai o eiki. Cooks and low people.**

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 264 **80. Fakauloula kai:** Doing a dance with the food.

A man who is distinguishing himself by fine trencher work, blissfully unaware that his performance is not giving as much satisfaction to his hosts or co-diners as to himself, may be called to his bearings by being asked not to do a dance with the food. An explanation has been offered to the effect that as the onlookers derive pleasure from the dance, so the greedy man behaves as though the spectators derived satisfaction from his exhibition. It may, however, be nothing more than a reference to the nimble movements that the food is being made to execute.

81. Fangafanga uu tau he tae: Preparing to eat, getting to rubbish.

Disappointed expectations, as of one who anticipates food, but finds that there is nothing but rubbish (literally dung) to eat.

539 565 622 554 **82. Fie uo kae kaipo:** Wanting friends (literally crowd) but selfish.

This is primarily applicable to the chiefs, about whom the people were wont to gather. A chief who treated his people kindly and fed them well would find many happy to live with him. A chief who selfishly ate the best of everything himself was not taking the right measures to attract about him a numerous body of followers. So used of a man who, for the sake of prestige or companionship, desires to have many people about him, but who is too selfish to treat them with that generosity which will win their esteem and make them contented to live with him.

539 262 **83. Hange ha inu vai lolo:** Like drinking oil liquid, that is, liquid adjunct to food into whose composition the expressed milk of the coconut has entered.

Coconut enters very largely into the preparation of native dishes and is also used alone as a relish to yams and vegetables in default of meat. The phrase indicates one who, if nothing better is offering, is quite ready to enjoy his food with a little coconut milk as the only relish. So used of a man who is easy to suit in the matter of food, and who shows no fastidious preferences.

539 272 273 177 **84. Inu ti inu kota, Kakapapalangi fakatonga:** Drink tea, drink *kota;* European fashion, Tongan fashion.

The *kota* is an infusion of fermented coconut which has been ground and strained. The phrase, which is of course modern, indicates one who at one time is anxious to adopt European standards and modes of life and at another clings to the old Tongan ways.

539 264 **85. Jii a maanga ngako:** Small mouthful (but) fat.

A small quantity of food which is tasty and luscious. Used generally of that which is small in quantity but of excellent quality. (Compare No. 203.)

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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oned rather to the father (the head) than to the mother (the tail). Instead of the word *hiku, mahi,* which means the tail, is sometimes used.

201. Hola ae fai kae tuku ae foto: The sting-ray has gone but the barb is left.

When the sting-ray strikes with its tail the barb that enters the body struck is commonly broken off and left in the wound. The fish may swim away but the poisonous, wounding, painful barb is left. Those who have caused suffering may have gone away but the mischief wrought by them still persists. The evil men do lives after them.

202. Ika faao: Predatory fish; fish that prey on other fish.

It is explained as primarily relating to a fish which comes and seizes a smaller fish from the hook of a man who has caught it, thus violently capturing the fisherman's property. This is well in keeping with the literal meaning of *faao,* but the expression is used generally of one creature which preys on another.

203. Jii a maanga ika maka: Small mouthful (but) rock fish.

The Tongan words *ika maka,* translated "rock fish," indicate fish found under the rocks, at the bottom of the sea, or far from land, and which are of superior quality to those found close inshore or near the surface. The phrase means, therefore, that which is small in quantity but of good quality. (Compare No. 85.)

204. Lakulaku tee-feke: Handling black secretion of octopus.

Although the black secretion found in the head of the octopus is eaten with the rest of the fish, it is handled gingerly on account of aversion to its color. The expression is applied particularly to one who is not expert in preparing kava. Instead of grasping the strainer or kava firmly and masterfully the inexpert operator handles the materials diffidently and awkwardly.

205. Luki tenifa i hono tahi: Challenge a shark in his own sea.

This species of shark, the *tenifa,* is large and fierce and will attack men. The folly of jumping into the water just where he is and challenging him to single combat is obvious. So the phrase indicates the foolish effrontery of challenging one to contest in that wherein he is superior or under circumstances which give him a marked advantage.

206. Mohemohe a tenifa: Dozing of *tenifa.*

The *tenifa,* a large fierce shark, may doze, but when he wakes he wakes to violent activity. Applied to one who is spasmodic; he is inert at one time but at another is working with fierce energy. (See Nos. 207 and 208.)

207. Mohe faka-tenifa: Sleep *tenifa* fashion; *tenifa*-like sleep.

The shark *tenifa* is a very long and sound sleeper; his slumbers sometimes lasting for a day or more. Applied to people who sleep long and soundly.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 278 272 273 **487. Hange ha inu vai tulotula:** Like drinking *tulotula* medicine.

This particular member of the Tongan pharmacopoeia has no pronounced or unpleasant taste and one may drink it like water. Probably the drugs that enter into its composition are not very strong and they do not produce very marked effects. Used of one who drinks large quantities of liquids like kava or spirits without showing any effects.

539 164 577 **488. Hange ha kainiloto:** Like a *kainiloto*.

Kainiloto is an ulcerous or cancerous affection of the throat and nose whose nature is indicated by its name, which means eating inside. The disease has already committed serious ravages in the interior of the body before it becomes apparent on the surface. The phrase is applied to an evil which is hidden at first and only shows up when it has reached a very serious stage and is extremely difficult to cope with.

539 826 752 **489. He oku ai ha hui kape loto:** For is there a bone (needle) to pick out (what is in the) heart?

If one gets a splinter, for instance, in any external part of the body he can easily pick it out with a needle; but there is no needle that can pick out the secrets in the heart.

539 514 758 **490. Kovi jiko ngaoi:** To evacuate the bowels moving about is bad.

This is applied to a sick man, who, instead of lying down patiently and taking the care that his ill health demands, wants to be up and at work. His unwisdom is parallel to that of the man who should try to walk about while performing a function that is obviously inconsistent with walking exercise.

539 758 **491. Mahaki fakapopo fala:** Sickness rotting mat.

Refers to very protracted illness in which the patient is lying down so long that it might be said that his bed mats are rotting under him.

539 757 484 368 **492. Malumalu talavai:** Shady (for) getting medicine.

Probably a late phrase, dating from the establishment of the mission stations and of Government hospitals with their dispensaries. Such dispensaries are naturally in the larger villages and people often travel a considerable distance to reach them. The phrase indicates the cool of the late afternoon suitable for the journey to a village where a dispensary stands.

539 758 183 **493. Mangu bea lau:** Scab and touching with the fingers, that is, picking the scab from a sore.

Making a bad thing worse by meddling.

539 164 554 565 **494. Papanga eiki:** Level chiefs.

Papanga means to be disfigured by having the nose eaten away by a kind of ulceration not very uncommon in these islands. If the nose is gone the face is level, there is no boldly jutting out feature left. So of a gathe-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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there were no superabundant fruits to plunder. The number of us was too great for the productions of the island.

I had reserved, however, a field of plantains for myself, and having my hut placed in the middle, that I might the more effectually guard them, I preserved them till they were nearly ripe. But so pressing were the calls of hunger, that I was subject to several depredations, notwithstanding my character as "moolee," or stranger; and one morning, upon opening my hut-door, I perceived that had I been awakened to defend my plantation from some thieves who had robbed it during the night, I should have been murdered. The traces of human feet and spears on each side the hut, plainly showed that two men had taken their station there with spears ready couched to pierce me as soon as I should come out.

The scarcity of provisions was at length so great, that we were obliged to eat the roots of the plantain tree for our subsistence, and to drink the milk of the cocoa-nut, when very unripe. Hunger provoked me to drink such a quantity, that I was for a time swelled as though I had the dropsy. When pining with hunger, I endeavoured to refresh myself with sleep. But upon awaking, I was scarcely able to rise, from weakness. Many were in this deplorable state, and numbers died through want. At length I repaired to Lodgolala, as well as others, for food.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Vavau
Pangai

231 special kin, church-thanksgivings, and the like. It is well
594 to be prepared for these possible functions with pigs on hand.
527 Otherwise the pigs will have to be bought from whomsoever can be persuaded to sell. The price is likely to be high. Biukala, to take a typical case, has now five pigs, three sows and two boars. During 1938 he killed ten pigs: six for his
[554] son's first birthday (he also purchased an additional large
[565] pig for this feast, thus signalising with a memorable feast the prestige of his high status among the other commoner families of this village), two for Christmas celebrations, and two sucklings which he sold when temporarily short of ready
[262] cash. No feast can claim to be a feast without the service of pork. Hence the premium on the keeping of pigs.

231 Most village households also own at least one horse.
492 This is most useful for visiting distant villages, for riding (bareback) to and from the plantation, and more particularly for use as a pack animal in bringing back heavy loads of food and firewood to the village from the plantations.

231 Many households possess a few chickens which are used
[235] as an occasional food relish and for feasts. The eggs, if any,
[262] may be sold for a pittance to the trading station, the manager
[432] of which takes them in turn to Neiafu where they are sold from the big stores to the European residents. Two families have several goats, useful for feast-occasions. The village overseer owns two cows and a bull. At rare intervals he sells a cow or a calf to a butcher in Neiafu. He slaughtered
[272] one cow himself for the birthday-feast of his son. Neither
[237] milk nor manure are used. The animals have mostly prestige value.

Pigs are nominally supposed to be kept inside enclosures in the village. They usually wander round the village, unhindered, unhampered, and occasionally venture into the bush where they often play havoc with the gardens. They are usually fed on mature coconuts, specially if fattening is necessary for a forthcoming feast. Otherwise they root up the free village lands hunting for roots and wallowing in the consequent mud baths during the rainy season. Goats, cows, and horses are kept tethered in the plantations where they find enough green foods to keep them in good condition.
[857] Chickens are semi-wild, roosting in the trees and only to be

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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coconut-cream, but even this dish is not particularly common. Sea weeds are eaten, however, whenever they can be obtained.

Water and coconuts are the usual drink. Concoctions of sugar and lemons or limes are favourites with young and old alike. They are enjoyed whenever there is sugar available.

For his day-to-day staple foods the villager uses what he can grow in his gardens. To the old Tongan foods he has added such extras as corn, melons, and other fruits. For his relishes he relies on reef-foods, occasional pork and chicken, and canned foods whenever he can spare the money to make his daily meal more interesting.

FOOD-CONSUMPTION

The manner in which food is consumed during an average week of our stay in Pangai is shown by the following table. This week covers the seven days between January 23rd and January 29th and refers to the food-consumption of four separate households.

TABLE 6.—FOOD-CONSUMPTION

House-hold	Composition Adults	Children	Vegetable Staples Lbs. per pers. for seven days	Extras *Papaia*	Coconut	Meat	Fish	Chicken
A	3	2	59	49	48	8 lbs	10 lbs.	—
B	3	2	55	—	21	—	18 lbs.	1
C	5	8	57	44	52	—	reef food	—
D	5	5	56	25	64	—	reef food	—

Various comments on this table are in order. It will be noted firstly that the four household heads, each keeping his record for the same period, independently of the others, express common agreement on the amount of staple vegetables consumed by the Tongan villager. It was not possible to determine the relative amounts eaten by children and adults. The staple vegetables include *taro, manioke, kape* (giant *taro*), plantains, green bananas. In addition, very small amounts (included in the above totals) of breadfruit, yam and sweet potato were eaten by three of these four families during this week. One family only of the four and on one day only, ate "greens" in the form of *taro* leaves oven-baked with coconut-cream. All the coconuts listed in

next most important cause of death, followed by pneumonia and typhoid. Venereal disease is far from being a health problem. The most disturbing feature of Tonga's health is the high infant mortality rate of 8.7 per cent, even although it is a bit lower than the Maori rate. Unhygienic confinements, and a sudden transition from breast feeding to an insufficiently modified variant of the adult diet seem to be the main causes of infant deaths.

The traditional Tongan diet had developed a strong people, healthy enough in their own environment, but lacking resistance to European diseases, and more particularly to tuberculosis and epidemic diseases like measles and influenza. The current diet does not depart much from former standards, but where it does the change is not for the better. Tongans are too fond of white flour and tinned meat, which only accentuate the deficiencies of their diet in regard to protective food elements. A lack of iron lowers resistance to disease as well as predisposing the people to anaemia and yaws. Vitamins are deficient, especially A and C, so that scurvy, hookworm and pyorrhœa are far too prevalent.

Milk and fresh meat would do much to remedy these deficiencies but we have seen that livestock are both scarce and poor. Here is another and a powerful argument for the development of animal husbandry, but more than this would be needed to remedy the situation. Tongans have a marked prejudice against drinking milk, and while they have no such prejudice against meat, they invariably overcook it to make it tender enough to eat without forks and knives. There would have to be intensive education in dietetics and cooking, as well as a flourishing livestock industry, before the Tongans made proper use of meat and milk.

Housing

Housing, unfortunately, is by no means satisfactory, despite the simplicity and cheapness of building a home in Tonga. About one-third of the houses are neat wooden cottages with glass windows and iron roofs, built at a cost of about £80 in the palmy days of high copra prices. The depressed condition of the copra market has not only brought this type of building to a standstill but has prevented most Tongans from keeping their cottages in proper repair. Even so they are markedly superior, at least from the standpoint of health, to the usual *fale*. This type of dwelling is cheap—at the most £10 to

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

BIRTH AND PUBERTY

Before his birth the Tongan is protected by tabus which show the working of sympathetic magic. The expectant mother must not put any sort of girdle or necklace about her neck lest in labor the umbilical cord become entangled around the child's neck. The coconut for her to drink must be properly opened. There are two ways of opening a nut, one by piercing the little round eye at the stalk end, and the other by striking off the bottom of the nut, thus making a hole usually about two inches across. The pregnant woman must drink only nuts pierced at the top. Should she drink one opened by the other method her child's mouth will gape like the gaping coconut. She must not cut anything with a knife. Should she neglect this precaution her child will be marked by some sympathetic deformity, e.g., the hand may be deformed as though the fingers had been shorn off. She must not sit in the doorway of a house, lest, as she is partly within and partly without the house, her child's face reflect this local ambiguity by being differently formed on the two sides. The pregnant woman must allow no temptation to induce her to steal, as the child is sure to bear the mark of theft. Should the mother, for instance, steal a fowl and prepare it for the oven the child's legs may be trussed up like the fowl's, and so on of other thefts and their appropriate stigmata. In 1920 a woman bore a child whose hands were deformed as though the fingers had been cut off. She was questioned, and confessed that during her pregnancy she had stolen and cut up a fowl. These prohibitions for a pregnant woman apply with especial force against unauthorized meddling with her husband's possessions, though if she obtain his permission to use anything belonging to him she may do so without fear.

After confinement both mother and child are smeared with turmeric, and the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five nights, or, as we should say, five days. Bathing was also prohibited for a fixed period, in this case three nights, after a boy had undergone the operation of supercision, which is performed at the approach of puberty. After three nights the boy goes to the sea and bathes, this bathing having been called in my hearing, though doubtfully, the tabu bath. At about the same time the long lock of hair left on a

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

The form of cousin marriage most favored is that of a man to his mother's brother's daughter, though other forms are possible. None of these relationship terms must be understood as connoting necessarily the same closeness of connection as in English. Cousin marriages are more common amongst chiefs than amongst the rank and file, and it is said indeed that when such marriages occur amongst the people it is in imitation of the chiefs.

Considering the social status of women the foregoing tabu between brother and sister may be part of the general system wherein the superior is tabu to the inferior, though old legends make it more probable that, at least in comparatively ancient times, the safeguard was against incest as such, though this is not in itself necessarily the explanation of the origin of the very stringent Tongan sentiment against marriage of close relatives. With reference to the expression "close relatives" a Tongan once remarked to me, "We count as closely kin those whose common ancestry is even four generations back."

A tabu still regarded is that of not eating or drinking the remains of food or drink of a superior. The penalty for the violation of this rule is a sore throat, which can, however, be cured by being stroked by the superior whose victuals have caused the trouble, or by one of still higher rank. A person suffering from a sore throat, which he suspects to have been caused in this way, will take a short cut to cure by resorting at once to the highest chief available. In earlier days the cure used to be effected by an application of the chief's foot to the sore spot, but the hand has been found equally efficacious and is now usually employed. Should anyone desire to help himself from the platter of a superior the unseen powers may be cheated by a little simple collusion. After the inferior has helped himself to the tabued viands an immediate application of the superior's hand will ward off all unpleasant consequences. It is in the item of drinking a coconut after another that this tabu seems to be most regarded, possibly because sharing a coconut is fairly common, but more probably because the coconut, being completely closed round but for one small opening, is a peculiarly fit receptacle to retain the influence emanating from the drinker. A similar idea to this is found in Fiji and will be noted later.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

122 before us, I hauled into a bay which lays between the South end of
133 Lefooga and the North end of Ooleva, and there anchored in 17 fathom water, the bottom sand with here and there rock. The Discovery did not get to an anchor till sunset, she touched upon one of the Shoals, but backed off again without receiving any damage.

312 As soon as we had anchored I sent Mr Bligh to Sound the bay in which we lay and my self accompaned by Mr Gore, landed on the Southe[r]n part of Lefooga to examine the Country and look for fresh water, not that we wanted any having filled all our casks at the last place, but had been told that at this part of the island was some better than any we had met with. This will not be the only time I shall have to remark that these people do not know what good Water is. We were conducted to two wells and found the Water bad in both
349 and the Natives told us they had no better.[1] Near the South end of
223 the Island and on the West side, we met with a artificial Mount, that had been raised in remote times, as large trees &c[a] were growing upon it. I judged it to be about Forty feet high and the Diameter of its summit measured fifty.[2] At the foot of this Mount stood a stone which must have been hewn out of Coral rock, it was 4 feet broad 2½ thick and 14 high, and we were told by the Natives present that not
349 above half its length was above ground. They called it Tangata
211 (Man) or Arekee (King) and told us that it was set up and the Mount raised by some of their fore Fathers in memory of one of their Kings,
122 but how long sence they could not tell.[3] Night coming on we returned
133 on board, and at the same time Mr Bligh from sounding the bay, in which he found from 14 to 20 fathoms water, the bottom for the most

[1] Natives of coral islands did not feel the need of water for drinking, and what they had was good enough for fresh-water washing. Hence the difference of opinion between Tongans and Cook about what was 'good' water. Cook's men followed the native example, e.g. with the muddy and brackish fluid at Nomuka—'but the milk of the cocoanuts in a great mesure made up for the badness of it; as they were so plentifull that we seldom drank any thing else'.—Gilbert.

[2] 'In many of our walks about this Island we saw more numerous & extensive plantations than at Anamocka, & in better order; yet towards the sea side particularly to the Eastward, the country is still waste owing perhaps to its being a sandy soil; an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with an arbour of trees surrounding a green plot attract'd our notice; we were busy in forming conjectures as to the use of this spot, when we learnt that it was only a decoy for Pidgeons, being inticed thither by its shade & coolness, & likely by the natives putting some thing they like, whilst they hide themselves among the shrubs, & with a net throw over & catch them.'—King, 21 May. This artificial mount has now crumbled away, and Lifuka is virtually flat from one end to the other. *Siakeulupe* was the name given to the mount where wild pigeons (*lupe*) were snared. As Uoleva, the next island south, had a large number of pigeon mounds, and seems to have been a favourite spot for the chiefly sport, this mound may quite likely have belonged to the same series.

[3] The great stone no longer exists, except possibly underground. There are much smaller monumental stones extant, some built into *langi*, and there are said to be two monoliths as far away from Lifuka as Niuatoputapu, important enough to have names. But the only familiar thing of the sort is the great trilithon called Ha'amonga 'a Maui, at Hahake near Kolonga on Tongatapu, which many date from as early as the eleventh century.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the family sleep on the floor where ever they please to lay down, the unmarried Men and women each by themselves, or if the family is large they have small huts without to which they retire to sleep, so that privacy is as much observed here as one can expect. They have mats made on purpose to sleep upon, and the clothes that they wear in the day, serve them for covering in the night. Their whole furniture consists in a bowl or two in which they make the Cava, a few gourds, Cocoa nut shells, and some small wooden Stools which serve them for pillows and and perhaps a large Stool for the Master of the family.

Food and Cookery Their food and Cookery have been so often mentioned that it is almost needless to add any thing further, Yams and Vegetables makes the greatest part of their food, nay I beleive yams alone does, these they cultivate with much labour and have them in very great perfection. Fish is prefered to hogs[1] and poultry which are the only tame animals they have except dogs; nor is there any wild animals except rats and birds. Thier food is dressed generally by baking in the same manner as at Otahiete, and they have the art of making from different kinds of fruit several dishes which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of any kind of Sauce, nor drink any thing at their meals, but water or the juice of the coca-nut for the Cava is always drank in a morning. I cannot say they are cleanly either in their Cookery or eating, the generallity of them will lay their victuals upon the first leafe they meet with be it dirty or clean but the Chiefs have their victuals generally served up on green plantain leaves. When the King made [a] meal he was for the most part attended upon by three or four persons, one cut large pieces of the joint or fish, whatever it was, a another cut it into mouthfuls and others stood by with Cocoanuts and what else he might want.[2] I never saw a large company sit down to what we would call a sociable meal, that is to all eat from the same dish; the Victuals, be what it will is always divided in to portions,

wide, clean & cool, we had the Glimpse in many of the inclosures of pretty young women which convinced us that their principal ladies were kept out of our sight, as they were very shy. . . . In the inside of the dwelling houses, are matts spread on the Ground; & a thick upright mat work 2 or 3 feet high which inclosed a Circular space for the Master & Mistress to sleep in, in the Night; & the principal women are fond of sitting within this kind of fender or skreen in the day time out of doors.'

[1] The point here rather is that hogs were forbidden to commoners. All the land and its products being regarded as the property of the Tu'i Tonga, he, and chiefs deriving their precedence from him, had priority over the mere *tua*. All pigs over a certain size were *tapu* except for chiefs: even their 'owners' could not consume them. The same rule applied to large fishes, which had to be handed over on pain of severe punishment.

[2] These persons were *matapule*, officials of near-chiefly status, though not chiefs, who were appointed for the purpose.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

not unlike thick Sago or jelly from the Ma'whaha root, which doubtless affords a great quantity of nourishment; but the most palatable dainty, at least to us, is the bak'd root of the Sugar cane & Jeejee[1] which is but seldom met with. A dish of Vegetable and another of fish or other animal food commonly satisfys them, but we have seen Poulaho have four besides his yams for dinner, as bak'd pork, the Crow of the hog dress'd differently, the Talo tops as greens boild or rather sodden in oil or fat, and a bak'd Cuttle fish.

They seldom eat in their houses, but in fine weather sit down under the shade of a large tree and have their meal brought in baskets of Cocoa leaves to them, which is commonly divided into as many portions as there are people and laid before them in plantane or other leaves, with a small reserve in case any one should wish to eat more than his first share. They have some hollow'd wooden dishes but are not so commonly us'd as the leaves. Their only knives & forks are a bit of Bamboo or their hands, but many of the principal people have each mouthfull (which ar[e] commonly very large) of fish or pork prepard and laid upon a piece of yam by a servant, so that they have only the trouble of putting it into their mouths. In general they are moderate eaters, but their method of feeding does not seem to agree with their personal cleanliness, as they make no scruple of eating their pork (which is seldom dress'd about the head & neck from placing it in a round oven) quite raw and bloody and very frequently fish just as they are caught, as well as all sorts of shell fish, some of which are reckon'd a great delicacy in that state especially a particular part of the large Cockle. They are also very fond of every thing that is fat, and to procure that will even dress their shark cut up into large pieces by putting a large piece of the liver between two pieces of the fish, which doubtless yields a very rank oil: but what is worse they will often eat the vermin from their own heads, and have been seen to lick up the matter squeez'd from a boil with their fingers. Their drink at meals is the juice or water of the Cocoa nut, a natural liquor so agreeable that all who taste must prefer it unless habituated to some pernicious artificial one. Nature seems in some measure to have supplied her scanty allowance of water to them from fitting their country to produce large numbers of these, and in great perfection; but it is not the only provision in this case, for they often scrape down the kernel of the nut and by mixing it with water make a fine milky liquor which renders even that naturally disagreeable article pleasing. When the meal is finish'd they always

[1] This reminds one of the New Zealand use of Ti, *Cordyline australis*, the brother of the 'Jeejee'.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring & sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk, not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in Capt[n] Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them, & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

NIU UI. NIU MEA. A clay-colored nut.
NIU MATA KULA. A red-eyed nut, used as a medicine for gum boils. 245 824
NIU MEAALAVA. A green nut, used as a medicine for gum boils in young children. The husk at the top of the nut is grated and spread over the boil. [757]
NIU KAPAKALA. A great favorite among the chiefs, because of its perfect shape and size. The milk has a delicious flavor. [272]
NIU VAI. The largest coconut obtained in the South Seas. In the early days these shells were used for carrying water and when thus used were termed *hohoni*. [415]
NIU TAUKAVE. Has a small fruit.
NIU TEA. A white nut.
NIU UTOGAU. A nut with a sweet husk which the natives chew like sugar cane. [262]
NIU LEKA. This tree grows to a height of only ten feet and has a dwarf nut.
NIU KULA. A very different variety of coconut from all the others on the island. The nut is the size of a man's thumb; it has no milk, but a lump of white jelly surrounded by a thin, white, bitter skin. The tree is tall with a smooth body.

GAMES PLAYED BY CHILDREN

In the game, *kamotu'u*, several boys sit forming a ring; one goes to the center, closes his eyes, and stands looking upward until a boy from the circle touches him on the foot or leg. He then opens his eyes and goes to each boy in the circle, snapping his fingers in the face of each. When his fingers snap the loudest he has found the boy who touched him. 857 524

In *galigali a toke*, the boys stand in a row with hands on each other's hips. One player stands alone, facing the line. When the game begins, the line of boys starts running in a ring, and the lone player (*ell*), tries to catch any boy behind the leader of the line. While the game is being played this song is sung: "Galigali a toki, tuki be he ulu e toke." (Looks like an *ell* trap, but punch the *ell* on the head).

To play *touhuhu*, the boys hang a shaddock (*moli toga*) to a tree or stick and stand around it with sharpened sticks in their hands. One boy pierces the fruit with his stick, and strikes it to start it spinning around. The other boys then try to spear it while it is spinning, and the one who accomplishes this first wins the game.

Another game for boys is *tafau*. This is played with native bows and arrows. The weapon is made by taking a *kaho* stick about a yard long, splitting it down about twelve inches, and twisting one end of a piece of *fau* bark around the stick at the place where the split stops. The other end of the *fau* bark is held in the hand. The *kaho* stick or arrow is swung over the shoulder in playing, very much as if one

244 [262] native to South America and a post-European contact introduction, is generally not purposefully planted, but is found on many bush and town allotments and is eaten occasionally.

Chile pepper or tabasco - polo fifisi (Capsicum frutescens). The chile pepper is native to tropical America and of post-European introduction (Herklots, 1972: 351). Like the wild tomato, it is generally found in a feral state growing amongst secondary vegetation throughout Tongatapu or occasionally in a cultivated state on both bush and town allotments.

245 Coffee - kofi (Coffea arabica). Coffee, a native of the Ethiopian Highlands, was probably not introduced until the latter half of the Nineteenth century (Baker, 1970: 110-112; Parham, 1972: 267). It is occasionally grown in small concentrations in isolated forest stands or under trees on bush or town allotments. Although some local coffee is prepared by a number of families, it is not produced on a commercial basis.

249 272 Lemon grass - moengālō (Cymbopogon citratus). Probably a native of Malaysia (Herklots, 1972: 483) and probably introduced around the turn of the century (Parham, 1955: 122), lemon grass is frequently planted on both bush and town allotments, the leaves being used in the preparation of tea and the roots for scenting coconut oil.

/97 cont./

476 527 574 each one brings a long length of tapa and two mats which they spread out before the guests and the judges (for example, the district officer /cited in English/, a few pastors and the presidents of the village kautaha). [533] The brass band plays an accompaniment to this, a group of young Tongans join in with a song and occasionally a woman will beat a large bass drum. [535] The women of the kautaha, young as well as old, are quite boisterous; when they bring out the individual pieces they often dance, sway their hips in time to the music, stride and dance over the outspread splendors, amidst the applause and laughter of the spectators. The judges seriously scrutinize and consider. The show lasts about two hours. Then the drum is beaten, the school bell is rung, the band plays and the coconut-leaf tables (pola kai), (271)

271. Or corrugated metal tables covered with banana leaves.

laden with food, are brought and arranged in long rows between the guests. [262] [1773] [272] Whole roast pigs, baked fish, large crabs, corned beef, /cited in English/ chickens, new yams, bread fruit and bananas from the earth-oven lie piles up on the tables, crowned with earthenware plates of "English pudding" /cited in English/ (resembling gingerbread with a red floury sauce), small cakes and rich cream tortes, in addition to glass jugs with red and yellow, very sweet lemonade. A prayer is said, and people begin to eat. During this meal some ten speeches are made. The district officer or town officer thanks the women for always following the orders of their president and for preparing the entire festival so nicely. Other speakers thank the president of this kautaha and also the women. The president gives out prizes (often in the form of money) for the best pieces; a matapule also delivers a long speech about freedom in Tonga and obedience to the chiefs. A prayer ends the feast and people return home while the band still plays and the hosts fill baskets with leftover food to send to the houses of the

/97 cont./

476 527 574 [554] guests. Everybody is satisfied except one woman of the kautaha who did not fulfill her "quota" (a length of tapa and two mats); she spent some time on a visit to another island, and is very sad because of the bad impression she made on the audience.

476 527 574 178 182 621 [626] Like the kautaha itself, the festival seems to be a recent institution in which all kinds of old and new customs and traditions mingle. Such festivals probably serve to stimulate achievement and provide public control over work. Among the members of the kautaha, they fulfill the need for recognition within the social group and at the same time give large circles of the village community the much desired opportunity for a happy social life. However, the entire village community is not included in such a festival. The kautaha [203] invites relatives and friends, members of other kautaha and, above all, the influential men of the village (often with written invitations), so that the festival group includes approximately one-third or /98/ one-quarter of all adults of a particular settlement. Those who are not invited feel that it is a matter of courtesy not to attend the festival.

527 574 794 Other festivities (272)

272. Aside from the various "picnics" /cited in English/ on the beach or in the bush, organized by young men and girls.

in the villages are nowadays usually connected with the church. Thus, every Sunday, members of the three Wesleyan churches of Tonga take turns giving a feast (faka-afe), usually mornings and afternoons following the church services, to which the preachers, the eldest kinsman of the host, and friends are invited. After a kava circle a [262] meal is served (for example, the contents of an earth-oven: a pig, [272] yams, sweet potatoes, a large salt-water fish, canned meat and manioc pudding; or white bread with marmelade, cocoa and condensed milk),

527 /98 cont./
574 which is often paid for in advance by collections taken in the con-
794 gregation. After the meal the guests disperse. The meaning of this
(262) feast is to thank God with food and drink for His blessings, through
(272) the preacher as His intercessor. Undoubtedly this type of festivity
(782) may be traced back to mission activity, but it is now organized by
(177) the Tongan festival. This is shown even more clearly in the large
574 faka-afe on the last day of the year. If, for example, eight preachers
793 of the congregation are to speak on the evening of December 31st, a
794 special banquet is given for each of them on this day. The pastor, the eight lay preachers and their invited guests-- altogether 20 or more individuals--go from one banquet to another, soon amply fed and without appetite, but always intent on eating more and leaving a little room for the next meal (out of courtesy to the host). In serious and
(537) carefully worded speeches they give thanks to God for having taken care of the community throughout the year which is coming to an end, and for always having given it sufficient food; nor do they forget, in these speeches, to thank their respective hosts at great length.

527 The Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost have
177 not acquired deeper significance within the village community, To be sure, preparations for Christmas, for example, are considerable: weeks before, people busily make copra, stock quantities of European food for selling (bagsful of sugar and flour, six-pound cans of corned beef, etc.), and dress material, and they sew new gala attire. However, the holidays then pass without special events; only a few young men get drunk and beat each other up. Many Tongans even continue working on
(621) holidays, and the only function that unites the community (besides
(533) /99/ church attendance) is the performance in many villages of the
(431) large Wesleyan church choir which, during Holy Night, moves from house to house, like English carol singers, singing British Christmas carols /cited in English/ and other Tongan-English songs and, in

/101 cont./

276 574 461 men /102/ mend their large fish net or if a group is carrying out a building project, kava is served. Especially on the occasion of a major undertaking, such as the building of a new house, there is always a group of older Tongans present who do not join in but, united in a kava circle, sanction the work through their presence in this form. (283)

283. Also in construction work of a European nature (for example, building a cement tank for drinking water, making concrete blocks for a church building) this custom is observed.

276 529 585 764 Naturally, there is also no Tongan festival possible without kava. It belongs to a wedding as well as a funeral, and it is served at all other festive occasions--generally before the meal.

276 178 Very probably the role of kava in the social life of the village, compared with its significance in old times, has not diminished, but actually increased. For this too an important reason may be the greater freedom and independence today of the mass of the people, the commoners. The old custom of kava drinking is so deeply rooted in [177] Tongan life that neither European influences of the past nor those of the present have been able to displace it or even diminish it.

[273] [272] Alcohol, to be sure, is very difficult to obtain for the Tongans, (284)

284. Only with a permit from the police minister or by the dangerous way of the black market or non-licensed brewing.

but even easily available beverages such as tea, coffee, cocoa and lemonade have not in the least displaced kava. It, along with the [415] typical wooden bowl and the coconut cups today form a seemingly indestructable cultural asset. The large ceremonial kava gatherings 276 574 565 178 of chiefs which Mariner reports (285)

285. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184 ff.

have today been simplified--in accordance with the gradual decrease of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

331 /142 cont./
342 rest periods, make 110 rafters by early afternoon. Then they go back
335 to the building site and around 16 o'clock they each have an earth-
476 oven meal, prepared in the meantime by their wives and other women,
[461] from the supplies of the "boss"; each man is served a portion (yams,
[264] manioc, kape, bananas, pork, beef) in a traditional coconut-leaf
[262] basket and with it a coconut mug containing fish soup. Thereafter the
[415] work in the village is resumed: five Tongans sitting crosslegged
[516] "plane" the rafters by striking them with the small transverse hatchets
(fale-vatu si'i, toki taha-taha, toki tele) or with the machete, two
natives cut more rafters out of trunks which are brought from the
plantations, and 12 Tongans hold a kava gathering at the site to
"sanction" the building project, while three women prepare the
[264] evening meal. This is eaten when twilight sets in (around 18:30):
[262] everyone present gets three or four fried cakes and highly sweetened
orange-leaf tea in coconut bowls. Around 19 o'clock everybody goes
home.

342 On the second building day, while several younger natives split
313 off and plane more rafters and a kava circle of elders is gathered on
335 the building site, six Tongans and the carpenter go to the plantations
331 (after the fried-cake and orange-leaf-tea breakfast) to get sections
of curved beams (for the narrow sides of the new building). According
to an apparently very old system, these are cut out of coconut palm
342 trunks that have grown with a special curvature. Again the men work
335 with the big axe and the big transverse hatchet. From each palm a
331 curved section of beam is obtained. Around 13 o'clock- after they
[264] have cut up the seventh palm, they grow listless, build a fire, roast
a few green bananas in it, have a snack and then go back to the
village, leaving the remaining five palms of the day's quota for the
342 following day. Around 14:30, /143/ 'ota 'i mango (a refreshing drink
292 of grated green mangoes, grated coconut meat, water and sugar) is
264

/143 cont./

342 served, and at 15 o'clock everyone gets his basket with his share of
272 the earth-oven meal: manioc, kape, sweet potatoes and salted
264 beef, along with a coconut mug of beef broth. In the afternoon, while
342 a few natives continue splitting and planing rafters, others, with
331 the huo lafa-lafa (shovel iron), (374)

374. See p. 233-234.

[276] level the ground measured off by the carpenter for the house Under a
[571] temporary corrugated metal roof a kava group of ten older men is
[264] gathered. At 18:45 fried cakes and orange-leaf tea are again handed out. Then the men slowly go home; a few natives take along a basket of leftovers from the afternoon meal.

[332] On the third day of work, more rafters and curved sections of
[412] beams are made; the ground plan of the house (in ancient Tongan style)
[179] is marked out, and an approximately 15 centimeter excavation is dug (tools: two huo spade [a small iron blade set on an old digging stick;
[276] see page 234] and a European shovel). Four older Tongans form a kava
[571] circle. The meals are the same as on the previous days. The work
[796] stops toward 16 o'clock, for at 17 o'clock the usual church service (Friday) is held.

[335] On the subsequent work days the posts and beams (native and Canadian wood) are cut and planed with the carpenter's tools (transverse hatchet, saws, planes, adzes); the work on the rafters (total number 250) also continues. The meals corresponds to those
[276] of the preceding days. The kava gathering of older men continues to
[571] assemble on the building site.

342 Finally, the four customary posts that are to carry the roof are
331 set in place. However, the carpenter intends to give the house more
335 room and to replace the "disturbing" posts with special supports of Canadian building timber, leading upward obliquely from the side walls;

/162 cont./

245 huo spade they dig holes approximately 50 centimeters deep (diameter 25 to 30 centimeters) in which they plant a sprig (root sucker). They fill the plant hole with earth so that a depression remains in which water from rainfalls can accumulate. The distance between plants is about five meters on a flat area. Every three weeks or so they remove the proliferating weeds with the huo lafa-lafa. After six to nine months the first fruits can be harvested.

niu = Coconut Palm (Cocos nucifera L.)

824 178 Since the settlement of the Archipelago the coconut palm has played a very special role in Tongan culture. At the present time in particular, in view of its extraordinarily manifold uses, (426)

426. The following list will show the all-purpose uses of the coconut palm in Tonga; ("old") and ("new") indicate whether or not its utilization was already common in ancient Tonga.

[262] [252] [231] [303] [372] 1. The meat of the nut (kakano 'i niu): eaten in pieces by the natives (old); grated (or squeezed out as coconut milk) for preparing foods and beverages (old); grated to feed chickens and pigs (old), used in pieces to feed pigs (old) and horses (new); used for making copra (new); the oil obtained from the meat is used to make hair oil and body oil (lolo Tonga) (old), to fry in a pan (new) and to burn as fuel in the absence of petroleum imports (old).

[272] [262] [264] 2. The water of the nut (huhu'a oe niu): especially of unripe nuts is drunk by the natives (old); in an unripe nut it is stirred together with the meat and eaten (old); used at meals to wash one's fingers (old).

[415] [372] [524] 3. The hard shell (Endocarpium) of the nut (nge'esi niu): used for making drinking mugs (old); as fuel (old) and (as charcoal) to heat flat irons (new); used as a child's toy su nge'esi niu ("coconut shell shoes," see p. 272 (new).

[283] 4. The husk (Mesocarpium) of the nut (pulu): used to make cord (kafa) for house and boat building, for fastening blades to tools etc. (old); used as cover for hatchets

/169 cont./

231 According to these figures, pigs and chickens, the domestic
184 animals of ancient Tonga, occur most frequently in 'Uiha and Fungamisi. The difference with respect to the rest of the domestic animals is more striking in 'Uiha than in Fungamisi. In the latter village, its
231 nearness to the seaport of Neiafu is a factor; the natives probably
184 feel it is more profitable to use their coconuts for copra production
432 (245) (the copra receiving station of the government is not far from the village) than to breed pigs more extensively, especially since the latter can be replaced by corned beef and salted meat which is easily obtainable in Neiafu. The cattle raised in Fungamisi can be profitably sold to merchants in Neiafu.

231 In general, there is no intensive animal husbandry in Tonga, such as the European is accustomed to. Stalls and fenced-in areas are
(272) (262) (239) practically unknown. /170/ Milk, eggs and manure are not used. The following survey may give an idea of animal husbandry in Tonga:

Pig:

231 This domestic animal of ancient Tonga no longer exists in its
136 original form. Sailors, missionaries, other whites living in Tonga, as well as members of the Tongan government have, in the course of time, brought a number of pigs of various strains to Tonga. This seems to have improved the old Tongan breed of pig which was probably smaller. A clear racial identification is no longer possible because of the various crossbreeds.

231 Pork is by no means a daily food; the natives usually slaughter
262 the animals only for festivals and other special occasions (for
574 example, a visit of a member of the royal family), just as was customary among commoners in the past. (450)

(113) 450. See W. Waldegrave, Extracts from a private journal.../cited in English/ p. 187.

/172 cont./

Cat:

231 [136] Cats, which were likewise brought to the Archipelago by whites, are kept only now and then by natives to protect their supplies from mice. In the bush, wild cats occur now and then.

[178] To sum up, we may say about animal husbandry that, as in old times, there is scarcely a Tongan household without domestic animals and that, as in those days, the pig and the chicken are the most important domestic animals for the natives. On the other hand, of course, the limited size of the islands, the small size of the individual property and the lack of water are reasons why no more extensive animal-breeding, especially of cattle, arose. On the other 231 hand, the reason why the change from their former circumstances is 178 but slight may be found in the Tongans themselves, who apparently feel no necessity to alter their traditional economic system which is quite sufficient for their needs; in their raising of domestic animals--which might almost be called extensive--/173/ they leave a great deal to chance and shy away from the trouble which profitable pig and chicken raising, and especially systematic cattle raising (which is to a small extent possible even on 8¾ acres) entails. The [262] Tongans do not recognize the advantage of a better meat supply and the [272] use of manure, or else these advantages do not seem to them worth- [237] while, and the prospect of milk is not at all tempting for most of them, (457)

[439] 457. Imported, sweetened condensed milk has had a limited distribution in the Archipelago, which is probably due to the fact that the Tongans are very fond of sweets and that, in their eyes, this canned milk is very different from fresh cow's milk.

just as they do not care for eggs.

100: Koch-- 284 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

['Uiha]
[Nomuka]

/190 cont./

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Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of
Breadfruit, b., fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Carica papaya corned beef	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Taro, st. Carica papaya salted meat
Breadfruit, b. pork	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. taro leaves fish corned beef	Breadfruit, st Manioc, st.
Breadfruit, st. fish octopus	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Breadfruit, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. sweet potato leaves corned beef fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., sweet potato leaves corned beef		

262
264
529
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177
252

Gala Meal(faka afe) (Nomuka) consisting of	Gala Meal(faka afe) (Nomuka) consisting of
Yams, st. kape, st. Bananas (hopa), st. Tonga pudding(faikakai) pork chicken fish	Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. kape, st. bananas (siaine) English pudding pork chicken duck
Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. Bananas (hopa), st. watermelon English pudding pork fish corned beef red lemonade	Fried cakes Zwieback with marmalade Cocoa made with water, added condensed milk and sugar red lemonade

● [272]

/195 cont./

252 177 [439] coconut milk; less frequently they fry it in a pan with onions (and tomatoes). Rice, which is very popular but not always easily obtainable, apparently because of importing difficulties, is boiled in water with coconut milk and sugar added. Likewise, on the smaller islands, some natives know how to bake cakes in English fashion; they are made (only for special occasions) of flour, sugar, baking powder, creamed butter and bright yellow coloring. A few Tongan women also know how to make an English pudding with flour, shortening, sugar raisins and baking powder. Almost everywhere one finds the dumplings (topai) cooked in water and the very popular fried cakes (keke) that consist of a flour dough with baking powder and are fried in pans, usually with imported shortening. On only a few of the more important islands (Tongatapu, Vava'u, Lifuka) white bread is today baked by Tongans in simple, self-built ovens; this is so popular that the demand constantly exceeds the supply.

271 272 As beverages the Tongans use chiefly collected rainwater, as well as the fruit water of young coconuts, as in the past, (505)

505. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 288; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... I. p/ 97.

312 177 at any time during the day. The water supply of the natives has been improved during the last decades, with cement tanks (506)

506. From imported cement, sand and coral stones.

replacing the ancient Tongan "water pits" (lepa), (507)

507. See E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 178.

being built by natives on their own initiative or by order of the government; /196/ these /tanks/ catch the rainwater running down from the corrugated metal roofs of private dwellings, schools, administra-

312 tive buildings and churches. In addition, the natives on many islands make an effort to dig pits which furnish more or less brackish water.

/196 cont./

312 Occasionally, one also sees on the trunks of coconut palms, palm branches fastened lengthwise, which are supposed to catch rainwater flowing down the trunk, so that it runs into tubs, canisters or casks standing below. Naturally, the water which is sometimes kept unprotected for a very long time is seldom perfect according to European standards. (508)

508. See p. 55.

272 Nowadays, the natives also like to prepare refreshing beverages from grated coconut meat and fruit pulp, for example 'ota 'i mango (a mixture of grated green mangoes, grated coconut meat, water and sugar), 'ota 'i meleni (prepared in the same way but with grated watermelon instead of mango), and 'ota 'i faina (the same, but with grated pineapple instead of melon). These drinks are perhaps a further development of the traditional 'ota 'i si (consisting of coconut meat, the juice of the Cordyline terminalis root and water) which is still made. The popular drink vai siaine, for the preparation of which sliced ripe bananas (of the siaine variety) with coconut milk (squeezed out of grated coconut meat) and water are heated in the earth-oven, corresponds to the ancient Tongan beverage vai hopa (that is, with the hopa variety of banana) observed by Mariner; (509)

509. See J. Martin, loc. cit., II. p. 285.

nowadays, on the basis of this recipe, they also prepare "lo'i lesi" with Carica papaya cut in small pieces. The preparation of tea from (198) leaves of the plant moengalo (Melastoma denticulatum) growing on village properties, or of leaves of the orange tree is probably a (199) modern development. In a limited number of households beverages of imported tea, coffee and cocoa are also prepared, and for festive occasions soft drinks made of European ingredients and highly sweetened 000 with sugar have become very popular. Kava (510)

/198 cont./

264 574 178 261 result of the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago, and with them have disappeared the large gala meals which, in old times, could cause the danger of food shortage and hardship. (516)

516. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 214/215.

262 177 178 Seen as a whole, strong European influences are to be noted in the food sector, (517)

517. European foods even play a special role in festive customs.

which have led to a coexistence and merging of old and new and also to a loss of old traditions. Yet the main foundation of the ancient Tongan system of nutrition has been preserved: Though some imported foods have gained great importance, they have not become the chief foods, but are merely additions to the ancient Tongan fare. The traditional basic foods have not been replaced. Rather, the Tongans are largely meeting their own food needs through cultivation (especially of old indigenous plants), fishing (mostly with traditional methods) and domestic animal raising (with predominantly ancient Tongan domestic animals), and if today the islands should fall back into isolation, the entire population could go on living without particular readjustment and without hardship, solely from the products of their own land. (518)

(146) 518. Tongan everyday food is astonishingly poor in proteins and vitamins, according to European ideas. Yet the natives have been nourishing themselves in this way for many centuries, and are on the whole tall, well built and mostly plump figures.

276 261 262 272 273 Luxuries

If, by the term "luxury," we mean everything that is eaten and drunk merely because it is pleasant, regardless of its nutritional value, we must mention under this heading for Tonga kava, tobacco,

/198 cont./
chewing gum and candy, tea, coffee and cocoa, and finally alcoholic beverages.

Of all these luxuries, kava alono belongs to ancient Tonga. Since kava drinking for most Tongans is a purely social event, it was already discussed in connection with the description of village life. (519)

519. See p. 144 ff.

It merits repetition to say that today kava dominates all social life on the islands of the Archipelago at least as much as, if not more then in the past.

/199/ For more than a century the Tongans have been familiar with the use of tobacco, (520)

520. See Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/ III. p. 26.

and though the missionaries at first fought bitterly against this "vice,"

521. Ibid., p. 26/27; O. W. Brierly, Brief geographical sketch.../cited in English/ p. 117.

today by far the majority of adult natives of both sexes smoke. The younger Tongan men and women and those of middle age smoke imported English tobacco almost exclusively. They have become quite choosey about its quality, since several different brands are imported. Using a two-ounce packet of tobacco, they generally roll 60 (thicker) or 90 (thinner) cigarettes (using cigarette papers that have likewise been imported). Girls and women are just as skilfull as the men in rolling the cigarettes freehand. Imported cigarettes, which are obtainable in sufficient quantities and are not much more expensive than the "prime cost" of the self-rolled ones, are seldom smoked.

Old people (men as well as women), however, still prefer the

/200 cont./

262 sour and sweet hard candies, which, like chewing gum, may be obtained
432 from shopkeepers on most of the islands.

272 Tea, coffee and cocoa, though they may be bought today on many
432 islands of the Archipelago, have not attained great importance for the Tongans. (522)

522. See chapter on "Food," p. 275 ff.

273 The natives cannot easily obtain alcoholic beverages (kava
[439] papalangi). Limited amounts are probably imported, but only a few
[656] Tongans have the required permit from the minister of police that entitles them to one bottle of spirits per month. On the black market the natives obtain only very small quantities of alcohol.
[177] Various Tongans have become experienced in making alcoholic beverages (using, for example, sugar [or artificial honey], yeast and pineapple), especially through their contact with foreign troops on Tongatapu
[687] during the second World War. But this illegal production that can be punished by imprisonment has heretofore been proportionately small, chiefly around Christmas time, and of late it has become insignificant.

276 Thus, European influences in the area of luxuries have brought
177 about a certain change, chiefly through the importation of tobacco. But, although most Tongans enjoy smoking, they have not become so addicted to tobacco that they are actually dependent on it; (523)

523. For example, on the small islands, shopkeepers often run out of tobacco, and the Tongans who then lack smoking supplies usually bear the time they must wait for a new shipment with equanimity.

this is, of course, also not the case with the other new and less important luxuries.

245 C. Copra Production
177

Copra production (524)

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

231 TABLE 15.--Livestock Owned by Tongan Households: Sample of 265.

	Households Owning (%)	Mean Owned per Household	Range of Ownership	Total No. of Livestock Owned By Entire Sample
Horse	38	1.0	1-6	98
Cattle	12	4.0	1-12	124
Pigs	55	4.9	1-48	700
Goats	27.5	2.5	1-8	179
Total fowl	70	20.2	1-50	3,676

[101] SOURCE: William F. Clark, data collected through personal survey, Kingdon of Tonga, August-October, 1974.

(438) [439] Livestock, as a food source or a cash product, is raised almost exclusively for the domestic market. Very little of this produce is exported to neighboring nations. In addition, the domestic role of livestock is complex and complicated by tradition. 262 Pork is consumed more frequently than any other meat source, excluding fish, and with the possible exception of poultry. Fresh milk, 272 for feeding small children, is usually in short supply, although the large number of goats on the islands represents a potential source of milk protein. Tradition, however, undermines the widespread use 262 of goat's milk. Food production and consumption patterns in traditional Tongan society are more often influenced by social custom than by need.

231 Survey results indicated that horses are owned by 38 per- 492 cent of Tongan households, and are used as a means of transportation.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

cover, which is attractive to rats. However, the initial expense of cattle, plus continued capital outlay for maintenance, substantially reduces the profitability of this scheme.

Goats were owned by 27.5 percent of the total survey sample. Although a potentially valuable source of meat and milk, roaming goats cause considerable crop damage in Tonga. The goat is one of three scavengers, competing with pigs and fowl for household refuse and other edible items. While goats are occasionally used for meat on special occasions, the pig is considered to be a much more prestigious food or gift. In addition, because of the low status ascribed to goats, use of goat's milk is avoided. Thus, the role of the goat in Tongan agriculture is expected to remain one of little significance.

Pigs are the most prestigious livestock raised in Tonga, and were owned by 55 percent of the survey sample. As mentioned previously, the pig is a meat source used for important social functions and traditional gifts. Being the most common of Tongan livestock, the pig plays an indispensable role in the control of garbage and refuse, plus provision of meat protein. Most households own several pigs, raising them as a food source or as a means to fulfill a variety of social obligations. It is not uncommon for taxes, debts and other financial obligations, especially to the nobility, to be paid with one or more pigs. Pork is not included in the average Tongan weekday diet, being consumed primarily during main Sunday meals or at feasts.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

The information acquired for the household frequency of consumption record usually consisted of rough approximations. However, several important aspects became evident during the rural to urban comparison. For example, household usage of sugar was found to be as high as 3.31 pounds per person per week in Nuku'alofa, although the average for the entire urban sample was 1.18. On the other hand, rural consumption of sugar averaged only .57 pounds per week. Cereal products, including bread and flour, are also used in greater quantities in Nuku'alofa than in rural areas.[1]

The consumption of soft drinks, alcoholic products, and cassava significantly increased in the urban areas, while the consumption of yams decreased. In the case of tubers, this fact most probably reflects economic forces which dictate that a basket of cassava cost T$.80, while a basket of yams sells of T$10-12.[2]

A higher rate of consumption of canned meat products was also observed in the urban area, although this product is widely used throughout Tonga--a probable reflection of its ease of distribution, storage and social status. A purchase of two samples of the most commonly used canned meat, and a subsequent proximal

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[1] This data may have been influenced by the distribution of such products over the islands. Surveys of stores in rural villages indicated that often sugar, flour and bread were not in stock. At times, the entire Kingdom is devoid of such basic commodities as sugar or flour. In one such incidence, over two weeks elapsed before a new shipment arrived from overseas sources, during which the entire nation lacked sugar. However, even with consideration being given to these influences, a significant variation between rural and urban consumption is evident.

[2] Prices acquired in the Nuku'alofa market, October, 1974.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

146 TABLE 21.--Proximal Evaluation of Canned Meat Typically Available to Tongan Consumers.

Content (%)	Globe Corned Beef	K & R Corned Meat Loaf	Suggested[1] Value
Protein	21.93	7.68	26
Fat	10.82	13.63	8
Carbohydrate	.95	13.39	--
Ash	2.50	2.40	4
Moisture	63.80	62.90	62
Total	100.00	100.00	100

[1]Value for corned beef as given in H. S. Mitchell, et al., Cooper's Nutrition in Health and Disease, 15th ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1968), p. 553.

262 environment. Cassava, though consumed throughout the Kingdom, is proportionally less important in rural areas. However, as emphasized in preceding chapters, this fact is changing, with increasing consumption of cassava in such densely settled areas as western Tongatapu and Ha'apai.

264 The 24-hour dietary recall for each preschool subject substantiated the trends indicated by the frequency of consumption records. In urban Nuku'alofa, children often eat only one or two

262 meals per day. Of particular interest is the urban child's

272 reliance upon bread and butter for an entire meal. Tea is also

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

272 a popular drink at mealtimes. It is actually little more than hot sugar water and remains a poor substitute for milk or broth.[1]

262 Snack foods consumed by urban preschoolers also are of poor
146 nutritional quality such as imported cookies (called biscuits),
273 soft drinks, and miscellaneous items (cheese puffs were observed to
262 be favorites). In rural areas a child is most often given coconut, taro or a fruit, such as papaya or mango, when in season. Rural children also enjoy a greater variety of foods per meal, with several tubers being supplemented by fruit and frequently meat or fish.

146 To summarize, the preceding data indicated that individuals residing in urban Tonga consume less nutritionally balanced diets.
[124] This was substantiated by interviews with the medical staff of Vaiola hospital on Tongatapu. The urban group most frequently having substandard diets was found to be migrants from other islands or

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272 [1]The low consumption of milk in all regions of Tonga, but
146 especially Nuku'alofa, is a nutritional shortcoming in the Tongan
[439] diet. Imported milk sources such as powdered, sweetened condensed or evaporated products are available and, if used properly, could be influential in improving the preschool dietary condition. However, the most frequent way of serving milk is to substantially dilute the mixture with water (often unclean) and thereby reducing the nutritional value. Domestic sources of cow's milk are scarce and expensive, while the large milk goat population in Tonga represents a largely unused potential milk source. A nutritive comparison of goat's milk and cow's milk indicates that goat's milk is quantitatively higher in most vitamins and minerals, contains more fat, a higher total caloric value in addition to a reasonably equal protein value. Widespread use of goat's milk, as suggested in previous chapters, would improve the nutritional conditions of many currently malnourished Tongan children. However, the consumption of goat's milk is believed to be indicative of low social prestige and government officials are unreceptive to information concerning its potential value.